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**Cox's Own**

Governor Cox continues his effort to get away from the Wilson issues and to create a Cox issue. Be it ever so faulty, he wants an issue which he can at least label "Made in Dayton." If Mr. Wilson had been renominated he probably would have repeated his 1918 blunder of asking the country to go Democratic in order that any influence whatever on American foreign policy could be denied to Republican opinion. But he hardly would have dreamed of seeking reelection on the claim that the Republican National Committee was trying to buy the Presidency.

The Democratic party has been in power for more than seven years. It has created a vast army of new officeholders. From April, 1917, on it exercised almost autocratic control over business, finance, transportation and industry. It has had sources of political support open to it on every hand. If these sources have failed it, whose fault is that? When before has the party in power so lost its sense of humor as to accuse the party out of power with trying to purchase a Presidential election?

Governor Cox has produced nothing to support his charges but assertions that employees of the Republican committee worked out certain fund quotas. You can't buy an election with quotas. Nor can you buy an election in the United States, with its more than 30,000,000 voters, with a campaign fund, for all purposes, of 10 cents per voter—or even 50 cents. Many of the Democratic nominee's more sensible supporters are disgusted with the new "issue" which Mr. Cox seeks to bring to the front. They see that it can't last through the campaign. It is piffle to all intelligent voters.

There have been few Presidential campaigns in which voters have had more fixed and definite reasons for wishing a change in administration. Those who want a change know exactly why they want it, and those who don't want a change may also be presumed to know why. If campaign effort is to be of any use, it must be directed toward confirming or altering by argument convictions which have already taken form. But no argument could be more futile or more uncomplimentary to those who want a Democratic administration continued than Governor Cox's fustian warning to them that the Republican National Committee is conspiring to buy their votes.

**Bakerism at Leavenworth**

There is nothing surprising in the failure of the kind of discipline instituted by the War Department at Fort Leavenworth. To the mind of Secretary Baker the administration of the prison by a council of prisoners naturally made a strong appeal. He has always held to Dick Phenyl's view that "much may be done by kindness" in the treatment of pacifists, slackers and offenders against military discipline. But kindness in dealing with criminals has its limits. One of the prisoners has put his finger upon the weak spot in the Baker scheme. "While there were several hundred men in the prison who desired to do what was right and had been sent there for trivial offenses," he says, "there were also several hundred hardened criminals, who preferred prison life to the danger of the trenches. . . . They cared not at all for oaths and laws—the only rule they knew was force."

Questions of prison reform are too often debated by the reformers on the assumption that prisoners can be dealt with in the mass; that methods well adapted to minor offenders will prove equally successful with major offenders. The inherent difficulty in prison discipline lies in reconciling the purpose of punishment with the purpose of reformation. No one would go back to the cruelties of a century ago, which destroyed self-respect and wrecked manhood. But a system of punishment which fails to exercise a deterring effect is almost equally de-

plorable. There is a golden mean between the two, though it is hard to find.

The Fort Leavenworth plan contained within itself the seeds of failure. Nearly all the details of management were turned over to committees and sub-committees of prisoners. A "constitution" was drawn up, and the right to try lesser offenders and to punish them was lodged in a judicial council. To this the prisoners themselves soon had reason to object. The new wielders of authority became "tyrannical" and administered beatings and black eyes to their victims. They acted, in short, precisely as they might have been expected to act. "Set a thief to catch a thief" is a principle with distinct limitations. The experiment of turning over any part of the discipline of the prison to the prisoners themselves was a fore-ordained failure. No other War Department in the world would have dreamed of trying it.

**Getting From Under**

President Mahon of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees, with which the B. R. T. strikers are affiliated, has evidently come to New York in a pacific mood. The strike situation here doesn't suit him and he flatly repudiates the leaders who brought it about. He has good reason for doing so.

"We are not here," he says, "to vilify Judge Mayer or to abuse the receiver, the authorities or the newspapers." The methods employed in the Brooklyn strike have solidified the public against it. Mr. Mahon recognizes this fact. Naturally, he is dissatisfied.

A strike by a small group of public utility workers, necessarily interfering with the comfort and welfare of the rest of the community, cannot succeed unless the community is convinced that right is with the strikers, or, at least, that there is as much right on their side as on the other. The public is tolerant and easy-going. It will put up with annoyances if its sense of justice and generosity is successfully appealed to. But it is weary of arrogant and arbitrary interferences with public utility service. It rightly feels that it is entitled to consideration and that its interests are superior to those of employees who will not operate trains themselves and don't want to let others operate them.

Mr. Mahon says he has great respect for the court and the receiver and appreciates their difficulties. Perhaps he also has a kindly feeling in his breast for the public which has to get to and from work. The most sensible thing he can do under the circumstances is to advise the workers to go back to duty, pending the adjustment promised them by Judge Mayer and Mr. Garrison if they do go back.

**State Growth and Power**

The Census Bureau has reported the 1920 population of six more states—Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Maryland, Colorado and Washington. They show very irregular rates of growth. Vermont, in fact, didn't grow at all. Her total in 1920 is 1 per cent below the total of 1910. But Vermont has long been among the firmly anchored states. Her rate of increase between 1900 and 1910 was only 3.6 and between 1890 and 1900 only 3.4.

Of the other two New England states Massachusetts slowed down in growth considerably and Connecticut more than held her own—aided, no doubt, by the great development of war industry in the Bridgeport district. Massachusetts' percentage of gain between 1910 and 1920 was only 14.4. In the preceding decade it was 25.3. On the contrary, Connecticut's percentage was 23.8 between 1910 and 1920, 22.7 between 1900 and 1910 and 21.7 between 1890 and 1900.

Maryland is another state—one of a very few—which made a better record in the last decade than in the preceding one. Her percentage of growth—due to rapid expansion in Baltimore—was 11.9. This compares with 9.0 between 1900 and 1910 and 14.0 between 1890 and 1900. The subsidence of population growth in the Far West is very marked. Washington's gain on the 1920 returns is 18.8 per cent. But her gain in the preceding decade was 120.4 per cent. Colorado's rate declined from 60.1 to 17.6.

What effect will these census figures have on the distribution of political power? The present ratio of representation in the lower house of Congress is 211,877. It will be raised; presumably, in the new apportionment act to between 225,000 and 230,000. Vermont has two seats and cannot lose one, even if the ratio goes to 230,000, because she will have more than half a ratio over. Massachusetts will gain one seat on a 230,000 basis, thanks to a major fraction, although she is slightly over-represented in the present House. Connecticut will also gain a seat, increasing her delegation from five to six.

Maryland's representation in the House hasn't changed since 1871. She has six seats now, and will have six under the new apportionment, if it is made along traditional lines. Colorado's increase in population since 1910 has been high, compared

with that of other states, but she cannot gain a seat because she has a deficit of nearly 50,000 in the present apportionment. Washington, on the contrary, has a surplus fraction of 82,000 and will increase her House representation from five to six.

In these six states—four normally Republican and two normally Democratic—the Republicans can expect to gain three electoral votes after 1920 and the Democrats none.

**Back Up the Merchant Marine**

Three billions of the American taxpayers' dollars have been put into the creation of a merchant marine. In place of our pre-war ocean-going fleet of a million gross tons we now have one of ten times that size.

Mere possession of a great volume of tonnage does not constitute maritime greatness, however. Without cargoes the ten million tons of ships are not a national asset but a national liability. Extension of foreign commerce must go hand in hand with the extension of shipping, to the end that American ships shall carry the bulk of American trade.

We have the ships; what are we doing to build up the trade for them? In the last fiscal year the United States expended \$910,000 for the expansion of its overseas commerce. In the same period the United Kingdom provided \$17,250,000 for the promotion of its foreign trade—almost twenty times as much as we did.

Three billions of dollars for ships in three years! Less than three millions in those same three years for developing trade for our ships!

The moral is obvious. Unless we are prepared to back up our world trade fleet with a decent effort to secure trade for it the merchant marine cannot survive.

**German Naval Strategy**

From the German point of view one of the saddest facts of the great war was the complete inactivity to which the Kaiser's much advertised German navy was condemned during the greater part of the struggle. Psychologically, at least, the navy meant more to the Germans than even their army, for while they were accustomed to take military superiority for granted, they were as self-conscious of their new-fangled navy as a child is of a new toy.

A partial explanation of how and why this great expectation failed is furnished by the memoirs of the erstwhile chief of the German admiralty staff, Admiral Pohl, posthumously published by his widow. Throughout the volume Admiral Pohl complains of the meddling of army headquarters and the Kaiser in naval matters. He charges that the strategy of the Grand Fleet was consistently subordinated to the necessities of land warfare. Pohl says this meddling accounts for the failure of the fleet to strike a blow at England in the decisive first three weeks of the struggle. He illustrates the Kaiser's attitude toward the navy in a letter to the admiral in command, von Ingenohl, dated Luxembourg, September 13, 1914:

"I should like to inform you that after August 28 (the day of Beatty's successful raid on the Bight of Heligoland) I had great difficulty in restraining our All-Highest Lord from imposing further limitations upon your initiative. . . . In his desire to preserve the fleet he proposed that, before embarking upon any capital action, you should telegraph to him for permission. Such an order would have made it impossible for you to turn favorable chances to good account. The order has not been issued." . . .

On October 2 the Kaiser once more explicitly reserved to himself complete discretion over the fleet. The chief reason for this "meddling," of course, was (as we learn from the memoirs of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz) the temporary ascendancy of the Bethmann-Hollweg party, which at that time still hoped against hope that it would be possible to reach an agreement with England which would put British power out of the combat. Hollweg, therefore, insisted that direct attacks on the English fleet or coast should be avoided.

In February, 1915, Admiral Pohl succeeded von Ingenohl in command of the fleet, and thereupon his complaints were chiefly directed against the alleged inferior quality of his fighting craft. He says hardly a day passed without accident to one or more of the ships. On March 16, 1915, he writes in disgust:

"This fleet is a queer sort of family. There is always something wrong, now with one and then the other of them. One may consider one's self lucky when one has got all of them together."

These laments must be viewed in the light of the Tirpitz memoirs. Admiral Pohl was one of the leaders of the anti-Tirpitz party, and his references to the inefficiency of the fighting units were intended to discredit the Grand Admiral. That the German craft were, in fact, of excellent fighting quality is attested by no less an authority than Admiral Jellicoe, who had good opportunity for observation in and after the battle of Jutland.

The revelations of Admiral Pohl are interesting, but must be taken with their face value. What they really reveal is not altogether novel—the fact that during the first months of the war German naval

**Wasteful Furnaces**

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: A shortage of coal is predicted for this winter, which means a high price. Seventy degrees is given for the standard temperature for heat, whereas most people run nearer a hundred. This is a waste of fuel and is decidedly unhealthy. Going from a hot, stuffy room into the cold makes too sudden a change for health. I found when I reduced my heat from 70 to 55 degrees I was less subject to colds and felt better.

I find that most people have big coal fires but poor heat. There is a defect in the arrangement of furnaces and other heating apparatus.

We will take a five-room house for an illustration.

The furnace is situated in the rear of the house, making the heat travel a long way to reach the two front rooms. It is not placed low enough to give the pipes a sufficient slope upward. The natural inclination of hot air is to go upward, whereas the defective system of installation makes the hot air travel almost on a level.

The furnace should be in the middle of the house and be sunk low enough to give the pipes an upward slope and there should be one pipe running straight up in the center of the house. A fan situated at the mouth of the feed pipe would help in any kind of a house.

The fan or the proper installation will solve the heat problem, reduce the coal bills, and if the temperature is reduced to 60 degrees it will not only economize on fuel but add to health.

JOS. A. SHIRES.  
Denver, August, 1920.

strategy was subordinated to German political strategy. The latter failed, and the consolation is still open to those who side with the navalists that, had their view prevailed, the outcome might have been different.

**Calvin Coolidge Says**

(From his address to the Massachusetts Senate on being elected its President January 7, 1914.)

Do the day's work. If it is to protect the rights of the weak, whoever objects, do it. If it be to help a powerful corporation better to serve the people, whatever the opposition, do that. Expect to be called a stand-patter, but don't be a stand-patter. Expect to be called a demagogue, but don't be a demagogue. Don't hesitate to be as revolutionary as science. Don't hesitate to be as reactionary as the multiplication table. Don't expect to build up the weak by pulling down the strong.

**The Haytian Constitution**

And Franklin Roosevelt's Alleged Claim to Its Authorship

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Did Franklin D. Roosevelt say he wrote the constitution of Hayti, or did he say he wrote some amendments thereto? In a matter of authorship it is not usual to claim a work when one had added only a paragraph, a sentence or a word here and there to the text, no matter how important in substance the additions may be.

It has been the custom in Hayti, as in some other countries having formal written constitutions, when amendments are to be made to insert the same in the body of the text at appropriate places, and to discard or remodel such parts of the old text as may not be consonant with the proposed amendment. It also has been the custom to call the redrafted constitution, when adopted, a new constitution, although the textual changes were slight. So we have in Hayti what are called new constitutions of 1846, 1849, 1867, 1874, 1879, 1889 and 1918.

The last, ratified on June 12, proclaimed on June 19, 1918, and published in the official organ, Le Moniteur, of that date, shows new material added to the 1889 revision of about 4 per cent, i. e., about twenty-five lines in over 600 as printed. The discarded matter is a little more in quantity.

Going back to the constitution of 1846, all the changes made, including the last, represent only about one-fifth of the text.

One might say with propriety that the person who drafted the 1846 text (thirty-six years before Mr. Roosevelt was born) is entitled to credit for authorship, were it not that this constitution was itself an evolution from preceding ones. Dr. Louis J. Janvier, in Les Constitutions d'Haïti (Paris, 1886), gives the text of twelve in the period of from 1801 to 1885, seven before 1846.

By far the most important changes in substance made in the 1918 constitution were in the addition of the three following articles:

Article 3—"Les règles relatives à la nationalité sont déterminées par la loi."

In the old constitution they were determined by the constitution itself.

Article 4—"Tout étranger qui se trouve sur le territoire d'Haïti jouit de la même protection accordée aux Haïtiens."

It has been claimed that the old constitution did not secure this right. A matter of doubtful interpretation.

Article 5—"Le droit de propriété immobilière est accordé à l'étranger résident en Haïti et aux sociétés formées par des étrangers pour les besoins de leurs entreprises, de leurs entreprises agricoles, commerciales, industrielles ou d'enseignement."

"Ce droit prendra fin dans une période de cinq années après que l'étranger aura cessé les opérations des compagnies."

The old constitution prohibited any except Haytiens from owning land.

These articles, the last the most important, in all probability were written in Washington, and perhaps by Mr. Roosevelt, but are they more important than the Nineteenth Amendment, and, if not, did Miss Susan B. Anthony write the Constitution of the United States? If she were alive, I do not think she would say so.

Washington, D. C., Sept. 3, 1920.

**The Conning Tower**

AN AL FRESCO RECITAL

In a hushed garden by a falling stream,  
A Druid circle in the liquid dark  
Beneath new-risen Algol, here we  
hark  
One dance his dance, another dream  
his dream—  
Or mount with Schubert and the  
springing lark;  
While elves steal closer through the  
shadowy park,  
Charmed from their revels by a mortal  
theme.  
Then ending; and the little people fit  
Before the babble that comes flood-  
ing back  
To our uneasy lips: "Delightful, wasn't  
it?"

"My dear, he's young!" "You look  
so well in black."  
The place reverberates with nimble  
clack  
And high guffaws at some one's  
pretty wit.  
G. S. B.

"It is," says Bernard Shaw, "such an  
extraordinary, unintellectual and ig-  
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At Forest Hills  
Said William T. to William J.:  
"I'm helpless when you place that  
way."  
"Your service is too good for me,"  
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It was a gallant swain, overheard  
by M. L. H., who was explaining to his  
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"You see," he said, "the ball comes so  
fast it takes two men to see whether  
it's good."

To Save You the Trouble of Sending  
It In  
(From The Tower of August 27.)  
It is our forecast that the national  
champions will be won this year by  
Mr. William M. Johnston, who will de-  
feat Mr. W. T. Tilden in the final round  
1-6, 6-1, 7-9, 6-3, 7-5.

Our claim for exemption for bad  
debts has been disallowed by the State  
Income Tax Bureau. This announce-  
ment should give a giggle to several  
persons who never before got one from  
this Globule of Gloom.

For Adoption by the Umpires' Asso-  
ciation  
Sir: My only disappointment at For-  
est Hills was the discovery that all the  
people who ever crawled over my feet  
in the theater while the play was on  
were there. I knew them at a glance,  
because they rubbed past me to go  
below just before the beginning of  
every rest period, and did not come  
back until they could blot out the  
view of most of the first game after  
the intermission. We need a new ten-  
nis rule: all spectators to be riveted  
to cushions, cushions riveted to seats,  
seats pile-driven to a safe depth, and  
none to be released by any one but  
the umpire, in his own good and venge-  
ful time.

"Labor and Capital Scored by Minis-  
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It will take about two years, our  
guess is, for the advertising gentry to  
weary of "feature" as a transitive verb.

The Dignity of Labor  
Sir: The chances are when the plumber's  
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had to go back to the shop for the blow pipe.  
JACK DOYLE

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JACK DOYLE

Prodigal though old Jack Doyle is  
known to be, he uses his old stationery,  
which bears the legend "Imported and  
Domestic Beers, Wines and Liquors."

It strikes us that the Postoffice De-  
partment should announce that in cer-  
tain towns the special delivery stamp  
is a yellow primrose. In many places  
letters with s. d. stamps affixed are de-  
livered with the ordinary mail. A spe-  
cial delivery letter mailed in New York  
Friday at 1 a. m. was delivered at  
Great Neck with the Saturday morning  
mail. Ten cents, as any calculus stu-  
dent knows, is ten cents; and the  
sender ought to get his money back.

Table-talk of Dulcinea, Vivienne, and  
Tiger Tuesday  
Dul: "They say that what finally stopped  
the French advance on Paris in 1918 was  
the wine-cellar at Rheims. Is it true?"  
T. T. "No one will ever know. Naturally  
the Germans wouldn't tell. Mumm's the  
word."  
Viv: "It is curious how great nations rise  
and fall."  
Dul: "Yes, look at the once famous  
Phoenician maritime nations. Is it true?"  
T. T. "What was the cause of their de-  
cline?"  
Dul: "They got punctured because it had  
too much Salon."  
Viv: "I suppose we should find rising  
and falling empires if we went clear back  
to the lithographic age?"  
Dul: "Yes, even at the dawn of history. I  
found when I reduced my heat from 70  
to 55 degrees I was less subject to colds  
and felt better."  
Viv: "I find that most people have big coal  
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coal bills, and if the temperature is  
reduced to 60 degrees it will not only  
economize on fuel but add to health.

JOS. A. SHIRES.  
Denver, August, 1920.

In Buffalo is a commercially candid  
painter, Coppins, who advertises in The  
Courier: "Some people have put up  
for years with a color scheme that is  
not pleasing to them—we specialize in  
such matters."

"The only way," pulpits the Rev.  
John Roach Straton, speaking of the  
dance, "to fight this bait of the devil  
is to destroy it root and branch." The  
Doctor hastes his metaphors.

One fights bait line and sinker.  
F. P. A.

**DELIVERING IT AT THE WRONG DOOR**

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